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THE SMEAR TERROR BY JOHN T. FLYNN

(Two or three times a year a subject comes up in the news of such importance as, in our opinion, merits devoting the whole of a single issue of this Digest to its discussion and analysis. The Georgia lynchings (No. 5) was the first subject so treated. The background, current activity, and future significance of Fascist propaganda, here discussed, is the second.)

John T. Flynn, one-time liberal who, like the late Joseph Medill Patterson, of the New York Daily News, former Senator Burton K. Wheeler, of Montana, and other former staunch Roosevelt supporters who soured on the New Deal and thereafter devoted themselves with unmatched zeal to the destruction of democracy, has outdone himself with a series of articles in *The Chicago Tribune* which he is now offering in pamphlet form, entitled '*The Smear Terror: By John T. Flynn*'.

In it he has prepared, and rewritten from previous efforts of Nazi propagandists, attacks upon *The Friends of Democracy*; the *Non-Sectarian Anti-Nazi League to Champion Human Rights*; *Kenneth Leslie* and *The Protestant*, and *John Roy Carlson* and his American Fascist exposés, *Under Cover* and *The Plotters*.

Certainly Mr. Flynn's technique is an improvement upon that of Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling, and his style, which has now degenerated to the vitriolic bitterness of mere personal attack, is curiously superior, for effective innuendo, to that of the agencies of which he complains.

Uses Dilling Material

For his attack on Dr. L. M. Birkhead and the *Friends of Democracy*, Flynn has done a rewrite job on Mrs. Dilling's earlier brochure entitled *Character Assassination, Inc.*. Unless Mrs. Dilling co-operated with him, he is guilty of a bare-faced plagiarism, and, if she did, one wonders why the former Chairman of the New York Chapter of *America First* is still working that side of the street.

For his attack on the *Anti-Nazi League* he writes what amounts to a severe critique of some luridly written autobiographical material sold by Dorothy Waring D'Oxylion to magazines which, like the Hearst publications, the *Chicago Tribune*, and other of Mr. Flynn's literary patrons, would never have bought it if it had not been 'spiced up'.

His attack on John Roy Carlson is principally the fact that Carlson's multitudinous investigations under a wide variety of necessary aliases, has just about driven his subject crazy - which was exactly the aim of Carlson and every other American who actively opposes the build-up of Nazi-fascism in the United States.

His attack on Kenneth Leslie's *Protestant*, with which we do not altogether disagree, is, however, less upon the issues than upon the man. From all this it would seem that there has been an error of punctuation in the title of Flynn's brochure, and that it should be titled '*The Smear Terror By John T. Flynn*'!

Simultaneously, on a radio program sponsored by Merwin K. Hart's *National Economic Council*, from which arose *American Action, Inc.*, Upton Close is joining with Mr. Flynn in attacking exactly these agencies and persons; quoting Mr. Flynn's material, and promoting the sale of Mr. Flynn's pamphlet. This is no less curious than the fact that while Mr. Flynn becomes positively apoplectic over John Roy Carlson's 'aliases', he isn't at all bothered by Upton Close's! For while it is true Close's *alias* is much more in the nature of a *soubriquet*, it is also true that John Roy Carlson's principal *alias* is much more in the nature of a *nom de plume*. Upton Close is 'Upton Close' by an *alias* which he, like Carlson, used to outwit and deceive.

At the same time Westbrook Pegler, who is emphatically *not a part of the Black Network to which both Flynn and Upton Close (Josef Washington Hall) belong*, joins in their campaign with a violent diatribe against the methods used by private investigating 'gestapos'; and his complaints are paid for in good round dollars by an organization which has not only engaged in stealing documents from private persons, but also from foreign governments, committed the crime of kidnaping without prosecution therefor, and made, on its own hook, by these methods more exposés of public iniquity than all of the written works of Westbrook Pegler laid end to end! Indeed, Pegler himself has made use of material filched in the very manner to which he so self-righteously objects, and he has publicly boasted, by what was intended to be a 'smart' innuendo, that this was the case.

Real Purpose Is Hidden

Since it is apparent that Mr. Flynn's publisher, *The Chicago Tribune*, has also been guilty of stealing documents, or having them stolen, and using them in a manner which the President of the United States said endangered the safety of the United States; since Mr. 'Close' is himself guilty of the behavior of which Mr. Flynn complains; and since Mr. Pegler is himself guilty of the offense which he assails - is it not reasonable to suppose that, after all, it is *not these offenses but something else* to which this chorus of propaganda is directed? And would it not be curious to discover that most of the people engaged in it are the very same people who *worked hand in glove with the Nazi propaganda machine*? We think it would. Particularly if the matter can be shown up without name-calling and without relying on evidence presented by 'private agencies' but going right to the official records, and to the parallel activities of the persons concerned.

Pegler No Naziphile

Mr. Flynn complains that one of the 'methods of identification' with political iniquity is to 'link' the 'victim' by reason of the fact that he 'had dinner with a known offender' - or 'wrote him one letter' - or 'agreed with him on some point'. This is very clever propaganda. It leaves out of consideration *what was in the letter - what was the purpose of the dinner - or what is the nature of the point of agreement*. We shall therefore not refer to letters not related to the promotion of the Nazi cause; to meetings that were not for the purpose of promoting the Nazi cause, nor to points of agreement on other than Nazi propaganda subjects.

As far as Westbrook Pegler is concerned, we have already said that we do not believe (a) that he ever made a personal contact with a Nazi propagandist, (b) that he ever wrote a line for the purpose of promoting Nazi propaganda, (c) that he ever stole, or caused to be stolen, any document for any purpose connected with Nazi propaganda. Of all three persons involved in this discussion we happen

to have the least admiration for Mr. Pegler, for he, at least, has successfully made a living without playing the Nazi game, as the others have not. But it is necessary to include him because of his conscious or unconscious espousal of their cause, and because his expenditure of two columns in an attack on the *Anti-Nazi League* was of a piece with Flynn's week-later assault. It is incidental, and not very significant that Pegler later 'retracted' a statement to the effect that it had been testified that a League investigator suffered from 'a grave mental ailment' when the transcript of the hearing (so Pegler said) had it that way in error for 'a grave medical ailment'. This was not a 'retraction', but a correction. Nor, if the explanation is true, was Pegler blameable for using it in his argument *ad hominem* against the League.

It is perfectly true that it is possible for anyone to hate Roosevelt heartily without aiding the Nazis. It is possible for anyone to hate England heartily, without being a Nazi propagandist. And, when any charge is made that a man is furthering Nazi propaganda, some more definite identification of his propaganda than mere coincidence is to be expected. It is our contention that the Nazi Party is not dead, but very much alive, well financed and well organized, and more firmly implanted in this hemisphere than ever it was when we most feared its Fifth Column.

Same Propaganda Crew Active

We believe the evidence shows that the same forces are still active in the U.S. as permeated *America First*, the *German-American Bund*, the 'nationalist' movements, the 'Mother' groups and the *Black Network*. We believe this current attack by Flynn and Close is part of the propaganda revival to pave the way for a Fascist victory and that Westbrook Pegler's blasts at the enemies of such propaganda is helpful to their cause.

There is not room, in a twenty-page Digest to refute, word for word, Mr. Flynn's charges. At the risk, however, of promoting a further sale for his *SMELAR TERPOT* (John T. Flynn, 15 E. 40th Street, New York 16, N.Y., \$.25, cheaper in lots), let us consider his charges *seriatim*. He says in his preliminary remarks:

'In this profession (the 'smear' profession) certain words are important. If you attack Communists you are called a pro-fascist. If you are pro-fascist you are anti-Semitic because Hitler was anti-Semitic. Thus, by the simple device of proving that you are anti-Communist you can be shown to be fascist, a pro-Nazi, an anti-Semite and a subversive person' (pp 4).

The *Federation to Fight Fascism* has, from its inception, fought Communism harder than John T. Flynn and Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling combined - because we have fought Communism where they have principally fought democracy. Because we have also fought Nazi-fascism it is impossible for anyone to 'smear' us with a pro-fascist label. When did Mrs. Elizabeth Dilling ever fight fascism - and, compared with the aid he has given fascism - how effectively has John T. Flynn fought it? The assumption by Mr. Flynn that 'if you are pro-fascist you are anti-Semitic' is quite true. The essence of Nazi-fascism is racism. If you are 'pro-fascist' you are either anti-Semitic, anti-Negro, anti-alien - or all three. It is, on the other hand, plain nonsense to assert that 'if you are anti-Communist you are a Fascist, a pro-Nazi, an anti-Semite and a subversive person'. We are equalitarians, neither Negrophiles nor Semitophiles, but, to Mr. Flynn and Mrs. Dilling and to Westbrook Pegler this invariably seems to mean that we are 'Communists'. We could probably get a much stronger letter of unrecommendation from William Z. Foster than could either Mr. Flynn or Mrs. Dilling. Both, by their tactics, have helped the cause of the Communist Party!

Again, on page 4. Mr. Flynn notes that in what he calls a 'smear book', the name of Burton K. Wheeler appears 39 times. 'Not once', says Flynn 'is he called a Fascist or anti-Semitic. His name is merely repeated 39 times in connection with the names of various subversive persons (incl. ours.)'. Apparently even Mr. Flynn thinks they are subversive! Well, that was bad polemics. We have said that Burton K. Wheeler was a wheel-horse of Nazi propaganda in this country, and we devoted the major part of Digest No. 18, on Nov. 4, 1946, to the thesis that O. John Rogge had been fired for having proof of this fact. Several well informed persons close to that situation said they felt we had gone out on a limb; and on Feb. 3, 1947, George Seldes published in *In Fact* an exclusive interview with O. John Rogge who confirmed in detail our statements of Nov. 4. That is not a 'smear' on Mr. Wheeler - it is a frontal attack. Indeed, every person who wishes to be well informed on this matter should send for *In Fact* at once. Even now that issue is probably out of print.

Canon of Propaganda

The fact that one might be seen, night after night, in the swankier saloons, in the company of known prize fight fixers does not, of course, mean that one is party to the crime of fixing prize fights. It is further true that even though one is subsequently seen so often at fights 'arranged' by the fixers, and in their company, that one is known as their friend, this is insufficient ground for accusing one of being *particeps criminis*. But - if, after being constantly seen with known fixers in places well beyond one's means, and as their constant guest at fights 'arranged' by them, one writes, prints, and distributes a series of articles attacking a bill to prohibit the fixing of prize fights, it can be assumed without danger of being called a 'smear' that one is working with the fixers, and promoting the business of fixing prize fights. That parallels what Mr. Flynn has done.

Some More Confusion

It is not true, as Mr. Flynn asserts that 'you can ruin a man in Chicago politics by proving that he is anti-Polish, or anti-Czech or anti-German'. You can ruin a man in Chicago politics if you can prove he is anti-Tribune, or anti-McCormick! You cannot ruin a man politically in New York by proving he is anti-Jewish. You cannot even elect a man in New York on the ground that he is devoutly Jewish by religion or ethnically Jewish by descent. That was proved in the last election! You cannot get an effective boycott of foreign goods - German or any other - in New York, for, as Mr. Flynn very well knows, what defeated the Anti-Nazi League's attempted German goods boycott under the leadership of Samuel Untermyer was the opposition of Jewish merchants!

Nazi Sympathizer Still

Flynn's first complaint against 'Dick' Rollins is that his name is Isadore Rothberg. Indeed, the 'alias-phobia' which Flynn applies to everybody but his own backers and friends is violent, as is his antipathy to 'private gestapos' - unless they happen to be used by Col. Robert R. McCormick, William Randolph Hearst, Elizabeth Dilling, of many aliases, or Westbrook Pegler!

On p.5 Flynn reports that former Congressman Sam Dickstein, quondam chairman of the House Immigration Committee, 'introduced Isadore Rothberg to Washington society', which is very curious since Sam never had any access to Washington or any other 'society'! Flynn next complains that Rollins, or, as he prefers to call him, Rothberg, did some investigating work for the Dickstein Committee which hurt the Nazi war on the United States! Flynn actually complains against the expose of the Nazi espionage which included the arming of enemy aliens in America against the United States! This is not 'smear'! The statement is on p.5 of his pamphlet. He writes, in the manner of the old *Weekruf und Beobachter*, or in the manner of George Sylvester Viereck:

'Thus equipped (with 'unofficial status' by Dickstein) and with no legal authority, Mr. Rothberg proceeded, as he boasts, to board a German liner in port, to pry open lockers, search desks, and carry away such material as suited his purpose'.

That is smesr! Flynn does not state what the 'materials' (guns to arm the Bund) were; that the raid helped the cause of the United States nor does he commend the exposure. Not Flynn! He only condemns the method!

Whose Tool Is He ?

On the same page Mr. Flynn reports (by using the material in Rollins' book, *I Find Treason*) that Rollins' next 'escapade' was to join an 'insignificant outfit' (*The Order of '76*) run by a man named Royal Scott Gulden. Flynn writes: 'I know nothing of Royal Scott Gulden'. Now this is so incredible as to bring up a suspicion of his veracity. On the other hand, if it is true, it may explain how John T. Flynn 'liberal economist' was gullible enough to chair the *America First* committee, and become, as he did, one of the most effective spreaders of Nazi propaganda in the United States. If it is true that he 'knows nothing of Royal Scott Gulden', it is entirely possible that he thinks the German-American Bund is a singing society that promoted a song called 'Right In Der Fuehrer's Face!'; that Elizabeth Dilling's word as to who is and who is not a Communist is credible; and it may prove, after all, that his ignorance is as abysmal as his smearing is vicious. Certainly it is distressing to the vanity of any man who thinks he is a leader to find out that he has only been a tool. But it is not impossible that in Mr. Flynn's case that is what has happened. If Mr. Flynn is a tool, then the pertinent question is - whose tool is he?

The Belittling Word

One of the commonest devices of the 'smear artist' is the constant use of the belittling phrase. 'This man' can be devastating. See what Flynn and his betters did to FDR with 'That man!'. 'This person' can be even more insinuating. Flynn is, whatever may be the faults of his style, a master of this technique, as when, for instance, he refers to Miss Waring (whose information and whose evidence was instrumental in securing the conviction of William Dudley Pelley) and Rollins as 'this precious pair'. This is to 'throw down' the value of their services - whether they were official or not - in (1) uncovering a daring attempt at sabotage, and (2) the destruction of the *Silver Shirt* movement, which fell with the disgrace of its leader.

Now why does Mr. Flynn suffer so because a Nazi espionage plot was destroyed and a Fascist movement thwarted?

Again, there is the anti-alien theme noticeable throughout the whole of Mr. Flynn's 'Smear Terror'. He cites the fact that Isidor Lipschutz, who is a diamond importer and a wealthy man, aids the activities of the Anti-Nazi League, whose recent exposé of the Columbians was hailed by all the press not devoted to the cause for which Mr. Flynn fights. What is his chief objection to Mr. Lipschutz? First, that he is not yet a citizen, and second, that he helps the expositors of Nazi plotting. He cites the fact that Madam Irene Harand, whose notable battle in the Austrian press against the foul propaganda of Julius Streicher made her known throughout Europe, is head of the Women's Division of the Anti-Nazi League. And what is his complaint against Madam Harand? First, that she only recently became a citizen and second that she aids the campaign against Fascism!

Another of his complaints against the Anti-Nazi League is that 'it never gets around to Communism'. It was never organized for that purpose - but solely to fight Naziism and its outgrowths and developments, despite which it is officially on record as opposed to Communism. The implication of Mr. Flynn's and Mrs. Dilling's propaganda (which she learned under Nazi tutelage) is that 'anything which fights Fascism is Communist'. Why?

"All Danger Past"

Mr. Flynn is particularly irked by the use of these agencies to 'bolster the political fortunes of the New Deal'. That is what seems to be the current objective of this unified assault on the champions of human liberty. We do not hold briefs in behalf of smear whether done by Mr. Flynn, or Mrs. Dilling under one of her several aliases, or by the Anti-Nazi League, or the Friends of Democracy, or any other agency. The Democratic Party in this state was taken very harshly to task by us in the last campaign for an attempt to pin the 'fascist' label on the Republican Party while suffering from the vilest form of Nazi-fascist control in its own upper levels. But we do not find Mr. Flynn objecting to any attempt by the G.O.P to 'smear' the New Dealers. We doubt if we ever will.

More serious, if possible, than his dallying with the outer fringe of domestic politics, however, is his getting down to cases with the lullaby of the Pan-
rmons:

'Now the (Anti-Nazi) League has set up as the champion of the Negro in the South. It pursues the Ku Klux Klan, of evil memory. The war criminals are dead or in jail, Hitler is gone. These terrors can no longer be invoked to frighten our unfortunate foreign populations and induce contributions. The Bund has vanished. Fritz Kuhn (Flynn's dinner guest at America First) has been deported. Pelley and Vierck are in jail. Something like the Ku Klux Klan must be found to justify the existence of this private gestapo. Meantime Congress must deal with the question of whether these private terror organizations shall be permitted to usurp the police functions of the state'.

Upholds State Gestapo

Examine that! First of all the Anti-Nazi League has not gone in for the championship of the Negro in the South. Its primary concern with the Columbians was their aping of Hitler's storm troops. Second, the propaganda that 'the war criminals are dead etc. etc.' is hogwash. It is the political soothing syrup of the Nazi Party. 'Hitler' says Mr. Flynn - who carefully does not say he is dead - 'is gone'. 'These terrors can no longer be invoked'. Why not? They are more alive than ever! Or is it to somebody's advantage to create the impression they are no longer around? And who IS that somebody, and what is their relation to Mr. Flynn?

Now note carefully that the onus is put by Mr. Flynn on Congress to deal with the 'enemies' named in his pamphlet. *Not the law. Not the FBI. But Congress!* Why? It is pertinent to inquire 'By what means?' But what is far more pertinent is 'why should it?' Well, we'll tell you why! A Congressional Committee can back up Mr. Flynn's smear on FDR entitled 'The Truth About Pearl Harbor' - in the same manner that Owen D. Brewster recently used the infamous Meader Report to back up his smear, on racial grounds, against American Occupation of the Nazi's homeland. And, as the House UnAmerican Activities Committee has repeatedly done, it can, on Mr. Flynn's side of the argument, *do just what Flynn complains of in his pamphlet!* They can accuse without fear of libel or necessity of proof. They can harass and snoop without fear of being brought before a bar of justice. They can create their own 'gestapo' and 'smear' to their heart's content, and give Mr. Flynn and his kind practically permanent jobs destroying first the champions of democracy - and finally democracy itself. Then Mr. Flynn can use these 'official findings' without danger of being accused of 'smear'! That's why Mr. Flynn suggests a Congressional investigation! When that sort of thing prevails you have Fascism. When you have Fascism, the resurgent Nazis can - as they now plan to do - take over! This is something the legal enforcement agencies of the United States could not do - and would not if they could!

Flynn Swings - and Misses

Of what does Flynn's attack on the *Friends of Democracy* consist, aside from the fact that it restates the material of Mrs. Dilling's brochure?

He attacks Dr. Birkhead because he left the Methodist ministry to become a Unitarian, though he does so with a back-handed nod toward the four American Presidents who were members of that sect.

He assails Dr. Birkhead for 'clamoring for Hitler's head as the foe of religion' and for what Flynn considers 'his lack of religion'. He says he found Dr. Birkhead supporting the proposition that 'he cannot follow Christ'. He found, as a matter of fact, nothing of the sort. What he found was that Dr. Birkhead felt he could not follow *what Flynn and Mrs. Dilling consider to be Christian teaching* - for obviously that is the sense of Flynn's use of the word 'Christ'. Well - there are a lot of people who can't! And it would be advisable for Mr. Flynn to find out what the position of the Catholic Church is on a matter of conscience in that respect - not the opinion of any priest - but the *Church*. Flynn seems to think there is something wrong with a presentation of the alternatives 'Hitler or Christ'. It is not exactly clear which he prefers.

Harps On Religion

He assails Dr. Birkhead for a former publishing association with E. Haldemann-Julius entirely on the ground of that publisher's erratic social behavior. But what has *that* to do with the purposes, aims, or methods of the *Friends of Democracy*? *Nothing!* That is 'smear'. The *Friends of Democracy* has never promulgated one single religious program in its entire existence. It has never been Catholic, Protestant, Jewish or Atheist. And it wouldn't matter if it were any or all of these things. If, as Mr. Flynn says, after devoting several paragraphs to quarreling with Dr. Birkhead's religious views, 'I do not quarrel with the Reverend Birkhead because he is an atheist' (which he is not) then why does he devote so many additional paragraphs to exactly that kind of a quarrel? We deny that anything Dr. Birkhead ever said or did in his religious activities has anything whatever to do with the social or political attitudes or activities of *The Friends of Democracy*.

Birkhead, says Flynn, stormed at Hitler because 'If, in Germany, a mother wants her son to join one of her church societies, her little boy is ridiculed. This, mind you, from Birkhead, who had spent years ridiculing not only little boys but anyone for joining those unscientific and ridiculous churches led by coarse and vulgar mountebanks and demagogues where religion was making the good men bad, and the bad ones worse'.

Aside from the fact that he here belies his own statement that he is 'not concerned with Dr. Birkhead's religion', it must be pointed out that the matters to which Mr. Flynn here refers have been the target of priests, preachers and laymen in every sect of religion under Heaven, and are not relevant to the *Friends of Democracy*. Many individual churches are ridiculous. That is not an assault on Christianity! Many coarse and vulgar mountebanks and demagogues do lead churches. Flynn knows that. Moreover, Dr. Birkhead never complained that 'religion' made good men bad, but that lack of it did so. But what has that to do with *The Friends of Democracy*? Paragraph after paragraph follows, without one single word as to what Birkhead has done as Director of *The Friends of Democracy* - which is supposedly his topic.

Hits At Americanism

Abruptly, on p. 14, he leaves off beating Dr. Birkhead, and grabs up a fresh staff with which to belabor Rex Stout, the President of the *Friends of Democracy*. And what are the nefarious charges he makes? He is very, very mad because Rex Stout, in something not unrelated to the good old 'rags to riches' manner, rose from obscurity to fame. That, Flynn thinks, is most unAmerican! But he is maddest at Stout for having been one of the founders of the *New Masses*. Flynn seems, after all, not to be very familiar with Mrs. Dilling's writings, under any of her aliases, or he would have heard something about Communist infiltration. They 'infiltrated' the *New Masses* all right! And Stout belabored them vainly, and finally had to get out, not because he was a Communist - but precisely because he wasn't! He then had to threaten to sue them to make them quit using his name! But - Mr. Flynn's information here is of a piece with the whole, for he even refers to Mr. Stout's sister, Ruth, as his wife! And, as an example of Mr. Flynn's idea of political argument against what he says are Stout's ideas, he says (p.15) 'Those who know Stout know that the one spiritual urge which dominates him is hatred'. To prove this patent lie he cites an article written by Stout, 'We Shall Hate or We Shall Die!'. Flynn was afraid to mention what it was that Stout said we must hate.

The Lindbergh Saga

There is a side argument in Flynn's pamphlet which we may presently make the subject of a more exhaustive analysis, but to which we shall here refer only to show what Flynn's thesis is regarding it, and that it was a main feature of the organization of the *America First Committee*. That is his labored effort (pp.15, 16, 17) to prove that Charles Lindbergh was a patriot working ardently for the defeat of the Nazis; that Lindbergh's report on the air strength of Germany was made 'for the purpose of arousing France, Britain and the United States to the pressing need of arming in the air'.

Why, if Lindbergh's purpose was to incite us to preparedness - did he become the leader of a group organized for the purpose of keeping us from preparing - the *America First Committee*? And why did Mr. Flynn become chairman of the largest branch of that organization, and send out, over his signature, a demand that we put pressure on Congress to balk preparation for war?

Mr. Flynn wrote:

'We have been trying to determine what the next move of the war-making groups will be in Washington. Will they ask for (a) outright repeal of the Neutrality Act, or (b) the right to arm merchant vessels, or, (c) the right to send selectees outside the Western hemisphere, or for something even more drastic, or for all of these things?

'We believe the President will decide on his request after he has been able to determine what he can get. At the moment it looks as if he would ask for an amendment of the Neutrality Act in order to arm merchant vessels or perhaps the repeal of the Neutrality Act for the same purpose.

'We think, however, that just precisely what he does ask for is unimportant. The important thing is that whatever he does we know is just another step to war. Therefore in writing to Senators and Congressmen we should call on them to put an end to all further steps to war. Let them know that we are against any additional steps. Also let them know that you know that and that they are your servants.

'And so our demand on Congress now must be:

'We are against arming vessels, sending men out of this hemisphere, or sending our flag into the war zones, or any other steps the war-makers can invent to get us into this war'.

Yours very sincerely,

John T. Flynn, Chairman.

This was written after Lindbergh had made the report which lauded the German air might, and belittled that of the Russians (which was what the Germans wanted to know); after Lindbergh had made a speech in Des Moines espousing the racism of the Nazis, and repeating the lie that 'the Jews were responsible for the war', and after Anne Morrow Lindbergh had written *The Wave of the Future* to propose that since we would eventually have to become Nazis, we might as well do it now!

It became apparent to every fighter in the cause of human liberty that Lindbergh was a danger to that liberty, and as such, Flynn and the 'Firsters' took him to their political bosom. Today Flynn uses the whole of the propaganda attack against Lindbergh as a weapon with which to beat those who devised it. Aside from his theological dispute with Dr. Birkhead, and his complete misrepresentation of Stout's political position, that is all of his attack on *The Friends of Democracy*. That is all!

Real Issues Evaded

He turns next to John Roy Carlson, and here again his attack is purely personal. Flynn cites Carlson's decoy 'hate sheets' as if they were Carlson's views. Carlson clearly stated in both *Under Cover* and *The Plotters* that he had produced these things to draw out the sympathizers with such views. He also clearly reveals all the aliases of which Flynn so bitterly complains. As, in the case of the *Anti-Nazi League* he used the magazine articles written by Dorothy Waring when she was not connected with the League; as, in the attack on the *Friends of Democracy* he used Dr. Birkhead's religious views, which have nothing to do with the *Friends*; as, in the assault upon Rex Stout, he distorts the whole story of Stout's former connection with the *New Masses*; so, in the case of his attack upon Carlson he drags in the whole of the Tashnag Armenian controversy, which has nothing whatever to do with Carlson, or *Under Cover*, or *The Plotters*. He introduces a profanely indignant letter, which he obtained by purely 'gestapo' connivance, in which Carlson unbosoms himself to a friend in a state of rage against publishers who

wouldn't accept *Under Cover*. Well, Carlson was angry. He wrote a letter in anything but good taste. What he said about publishers is what a lot of us who have to depend on their acceptance of our product have - from time to time - thought of them, too! But either we had too much sense to write it down, or people like Mr. Flynn never got hold of it. Mr. Flynn is shocked that such publishers as Harpers, Reynal, Viking, etc. were called 'bastards' by Carlson. Someday somebody ought to take Mr. Flynn over to one of the better authors' clubs. Then he'd really hear something!

Libel Suits Cited

You cannot make charges of criminality against people - true or false - without running the danger of being sued for libel - unless you are an investigator for one of those Congressional Committees advocated by Mr. Flynn. Both Carlson and his publishers knew that. It was only natural that in a book of hundreds of pages dealing with charges - charges - and still more charges - that there should be some charges which contain errors of fact. That is always the danger in an exposé. But the issue is not whether an occasional error creeps in - the public issue is whether the substance of the expose as a whole is correct - is it an exposé - or, like Flynn's Smear Terror, a pseudo-expose - an attack which only pretends to be an expose?

When libel suits are brought in court they sometimes come before judges who were put on the bench not for their manifest 'judicial temperament' but for their more manifest political services to the politician who appointed them. The Magistrates' Courts of New York have more than once seen whole hegiras at the first hint of 'investigation'. Occasionally a judge sits on a bench who does not even know law. Sometimes he is a man whose opinions are fixed before he hears a case. One of the suits brought against Carlson and his publisher was before a Judge who (1) denied that he had heard any sustaining evidence, which was patently not true, as the court record shows; (2) excoriated Carlson on matters not relating to the case; (3) excoriated the publisher on matters not relating to the case, and (4) based his impassioned and partial opinion and his disagreement with testimony on his personal opinion and not on either the facts or the law.

Now all that would be irrelevant to this discussion if it were not for the fact that former Congressman Hamilton Fihh, jr., who is involved in the actions which Carlson exposed, made use of that Court's opinion not of the case but of Carlson to attack - not to refute, but to attack - Carlson's book *The Plotters*, treating the opinion of this court, which is still subject to legal reversal, as if it were the final judicial disposition of the case. And this is the same material made use of by Westbrook Pegler in his column and by John T. Flynn in *The Smear Terror*.

Fascist Fight Flynn's Grips

Flynn's greatest grief is that 'these agencies' seek to bar Fascists from public office. We also seek to bar Communists from public office. And now we come to the real matter that agitates Mr. Flynn. On p. 26 he writes: 'Their latest project now under way is their plan to 'get' a new organization known as American Action, Inc.' What is American Action, Inc.? We shall see!

THE BLACK NETWORK

HITLER PROPAGANDA

Joseph Goebbels

German-American
Bund

G.S. Viereck

Lawrence Dennis
205 E. 42nd St. NYC

Christian
Front

Nationalist
Movements

Committee For
the Nation

E.A. Rumely
ROBERT HARRISS
(205 E. 42nd St. NYC)

ROBERT HARRISS

Silver Shirts
W.D. Zullay

Paul Reveres
Maud De Land

Order of '76

Royal S. Gulden

COMMITTEE TO
UPHOLD THE
CONSTITUTION

AMERICA'S FUTURE
(Samuel Pettengill)

COMMITTEE FOR
CONSTITUTIONAL
GOVERNMENT

Edward Rumely
Frank Gannett
Sam Pettengill
ROBERT HARRISS

Am. Nationalist
Confederation

Frank Gannett
Alfred Davies

Joseph Pew
Ernest Weir

Eliz. Dilling
John H. Kirby
Vance Muse
Val Sherman

Christ. Americans

Vance Muse
Val Sherman

Lewis Ulrey
Lee O'Daniel
Sam Pettengill

TEXAS REGULARS
E.C. Towner
John Crocker
Vance Muse
Val Sherman

Mace Stewart
Lee O'Daniel
E. C. Towner
John Crocker

Prescott
Dennett
(For full
analysis of
Congress bloc
see

It's A Secret (Hoke)
In Fact (Feb. 3, 1947)

George Eggleston
Scribner's Commentator
under Eggleston used
John T. Flynn's material
(Japanese Agent)

NATIONAL ECONOMIC
COUNCIL

Merwin K. Hart

(Now sponsoring

(Franco Agent)

UPTON CLOSE

promoting sale of
John T. Flynn's material

AMERICA FIRST COMMITTEE — AMERICAN ACTION, INC.

ROBERT HARRISS
GEN. ROBERT WOOD
JOHN T. FLYNN

ROBERT HARRISS
GEN. ROBERT WOOD
JOSEPH FEW
ERNEST WEIR
UPTON CLOSE

After devoting a few paragraphs to attacking the *Society For the Prevention of World War III*, which he accuses of being desirous of 'making war upon Americans of German descent', Flynn winds up his diatribe with a lamentation that fascist minded politicians are made the targets of 'these agencies', and closes with a paragraph which expresses our view of his activities as adequately as we could express it. Flynn asks - and so do we:

'Is America to be governed by boycotters and smearers? Are public questions to be discussed in terms of libel and slander?...What sane man in this country wants to see that? What honest lover of tolerance for all religions (except the Unitarians? Ed.) and all races can contemplate that without anxiety? And when the argument gets around to that pass can anyone doubt that it will be the minority groups that will be the greatest sufferers?

We will now apply that question to Mr. Flynn's political associates and his propaganda supporters.

II

To generalize about Upton Close, who has been dropped from the radio as of tomorrow (Feb. 11) night, and John T. Flynn is a useless waste of time. About such dangerous people it is necessary - pressingly necessary - to be specific. One must supply the writers and the voters with factual material - with factual and cogent analysis - not with *ripostes* which only smear them as 'dirty little fascists'. Are they really dangerous men? What makes them dangerous? Listen - *Government by clique is fascism!*

Curtailement of human rights is necessary to government by clique..

That was demonstrated this morning, when Gerhardt Eisler, probably one of the most dangerous men in America, the reputed 'brains' behind the Communist Party organization, was 'picked up' and railroaded to Ellis Island. He should have been arrested many months ago, and it is to the discredit of the government that he was not. But he should have been arrested on a proper warrant and his arrest executed in accordance with democratic legal procedure. There is not the slightest difference between the manner in which he was arrested and jailed and that which is one of our chief complaints against the civil practices of the Soviet Union. In a Communist state such procedure is normal. The citizen having no rights, obviously has no protection of them. He is a creature, a slave, not a man, nor a free man. But the manner of Eisler's arrest is an example of the sort of behavior that arises from the conception of the superiority of the State to the individual, which is Flynn's philosophy, and from the exercise of police powers independently of the law, which Flynn also advocates. Small wonder that Mrs. Eisler, and the *Daily Worker*, are asking 'Is this democracy?' as reported in the *New York Herald-Tribune*.

Some of the fundamental rights of free men in a democracy are the rights of every citizen, regardless of race, religion, or place of origin, to participate equally in the benefits of citizenship. Flynn shows, by his attack on religious views which happen not to coincide with his own, and by his attack on the status of naturalized citizens in his 'Smear Terror' that he does not believe in that. There is also the right to organize economically, and in other of his writings Flynn has shown that he does not believe in that. Thousands of Americans are waking up to the fact that there is great and similar evil in the present organizational set-up of the Republican and the Democratic parties, and that this same evil is inherent in the Communist Party. The evil is *rule by clique*.

Liberties Are Imperiled

We, the common people of this country, are caught in the middle of the struggle between the fascists who inhabit Republican-Democratic fascism on the one side, and Communist totalitarianism on the other. Our liberties - the liberty to take a train from here to any place without showing a police pass; liberty to write and read the kind of literature or journal we want to read without having to answer to a Congressional Committee on that subject; liberty to go into the kind of business we want to go into; liberty to join democratic and human organizations - all of these and countless other of our liberties are endangered in this current struggle. And two of the many foes of human liberty, who inhabit the Right hand side of the totalitarian avenue, are Upton Close, and John T. Flynn. Let's be specific about them.

What Is Fascist Propaganda ?

One of the accepted marks of Nazi-fascism is its incessant propaganda to destroy the good fame of Franklin D. Roosevelt. The Nazis early discovered - long before they were ready to strike - that a basic attack on democracy *could be utilized in the United States to impair the war effort* which they knew a free people must make in the struggle which is still going on for world freedom. If the people could be persuaded to 'hate Roosevelt', they could be persuaded that his efforts to point to the danger to which we were increasingly being exposed was 'war-mongering'. This Close and Flynn did. Any aid to Great Britain could be twisted by this heavily oiled machine into the proposition that by aiding Britain we were 'getting into a foreign war'. This Close, and Flynn, and *The Chicago Tribune*, and the *New York Daily News*, and the *Cross and the Flag*, and *The Broom* and the 'mom' outfits all did.

Line Set At Erfurt

When the Nazi Party organized its world-wide propaganda under the title *World Service* it laid down at a conference held at Erfurt, 'the propaganda line'. For the United States the 'must' campaigns included (1) Hate Roosevelt (2) Hate the Jews; (3) develop native fascist movements of all kinds - the Klan, the Silver Shirts, the Christian Front and their offshoots; (4) develop a strong isolationist political movement - America First and similar committees; (5) promote a hate Russia campaign; (6) promote every possible division between minorities and between the minorities and the majority; (7) assail any preparedness program wherever propounded. There were many more angles and cross-angles - and it would take a very thick book indeed to analyze them all.

For a good outline of who was present at that Erfurt conference, see John Roy Carlson's *Under Cover*, and you will see why he is today the target of the Naziphiles and their dupes. We need to mention, however, that Elizabeth Dilling, whose pamphlet is incorporated by Flynn into his 'Smear Terror', while not present at Erfurt, was present at a Nazi Party conference at Nuremberg, which preceded the Erfurt conference by two years. At that Nuremberg gathering she was in the company of many of the leaders who laid down the Party Line at Erfurt, and was seen by unimpeachable authorities, to have 'Heiled' Hitler as lustily as any member of the Party. It was she who led the 'Women's Division' of the Nazi propaganda in this country, and also the 'anti-Communist' drive, as it was America First which led the anti-war theme, while the Bund-Klan-Christian Front alliance promoted the anti-Semitism, anti-Negro and anti-alien propaganda.

It is not Mr. Flynn's devotion to tearing down the Roosevelt tradition which establishes his equal devotion to the Nazi cause. A great many people in this country who are opposed to Rooseveltian politics and economics, or even to the Rooseveltian interpretation of democracy, are as ardent anti-fascists as you could find. It is his use of that particular theme in constant conjunction with the Nazi propaganda machine; his indefatigable preparation of material for the known channels of Nazi propaganda - The Patriotic Research Bureau of Mrs. Dilling; Scribner's Commentator, edited by George Eggleston; America Speaks, edited by William Kullgren, and all the rest. When Mr. Eggleston was selected by *Readers Digest*, whether because of the superlative record he had made with his *Lake Geneva Herald* and the *Commentator* or not, he carried to that powerful infiltrator of the public school system, (1) a staunch adherence to John T. Flynn, so that Mr. Flynn's articles are still spread through it; (2) the economic viewpoint of Merwin K. Hart; (3) the loyalty to fascism that has never waned, and the opprobrium that will eventually ruin that magazine of planted 'reprint'. Perhaps the recent exposé of Mr. Eggleston's connection with the sedition trial defendants, in Henry Hoke's *It's A Secret* and in the published bulletin of *The Friends of Democracy*, now called *Friends of Democracy's Battle* were only an additional spur to Flynn's attack.

It is true that larger journals than the seditious weeklies have used Mr. Flynn's material. He is now, along with Westbrook Pegler on Mr. Hearst's unquestionably alluring payroll. But the test is not how many *unseditious* publications carry his propaganda - but how many *seditious* ones do? And, far more to the point - why do they?

Hitler Aids Love Him

It is unnecessary here to go into detail on the record of Gerald Winrod. Also a 'German tourist' whose affluence dated from his call upon *Der Fuehrer's* friends, both he and his 'Defender' have suffered federal indictments for sedition. One of Mrs. Dilling's pet rages is the fact that those of us who fight fascism find it necessary to repeat 'over and over again' this reference to the fact that the sedition indictments were indicted for sedition. It is that very fact which shows the danger of their activities, and exposes the nature of the danger. Winrod, too, was part of Flynn's pipeline, and, in November, 1945, not only went to town himself on the matter of responsibility for Pearl Harbor (p.11) but, (p.18) cited the use, by Flynn, of the 'Viereck technique', quoting the printing of Flynn's Pearl Harbor statement 'from the Congressional Record'. In February of that year Flynn had inserted, through the kindly offices of Rep. Roy O. Woodruff (R., Mich.) a strong defense of Merwin K. Hart (See *Black Network chart infra*).

HERE IS A REPRESENTATIVE SECTION OF THE PRESS THAT SUPPORTS JOHN T. FLYNN

MILITANT TRUTH

A WEEKLY PUBLICATION

Exposing Current Events From A Fundamental Christian And Constitutional Standpoint

CHATTANOOGA, A. I. NEWSPAPER, AUGUST, 1944

PAGE TWO

MILITANT TRUTH

The Handwriting on the Cuff

By JOHN T. FLYNN

(Reprinted through the courtesy of The Reader's Digest)

long as we know the facts and are not fooled by those who wish to sell their pet economic theories. The danger lies wholly in permitting ourselves to be fooled.

Billions of bonds and notes will be held by the holders of the old ones. Government will try to issue new ones. The holders of the old ones will want their money back. New leaders must be found.

THIS ISSUE--

REVEALING MORE OF MARSHALL FIELD'S PHILOSOPHY-- THE IT ON JACK BAIRSTON, DEMOCRATIC BOSS OF LAKE CO.-- INTERNATIONALISTS TAKE OVER. HEARD AND SEEN

By William H. Stuart

WEEKLY LETTER FEATURED BY INFORMATION AND VIEWPOINTS NOT PRINTED ELSEWHERE. HIS MIND AND INVITES HIS SUBSCRIBERS TO DO LIKE

JULY 31, 1944--ISSUE 16, VOL. 8

BUSINESS MAIL, CHICAGO 7, ILL.

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better. Maybe
inois will help

are temporarily located just outside Manila. We expect to move into a new area in that vicinity in the near future. I would appreciate your continuing me your fine paper at my new address.

PROPAGANDA'S GREATEST VICTORY
The Internationalists have won the greatest PROPAGANDA VICTORY of all time. U. S. Senate will vote us into the NATIONS.

Representatives of organizations an aggregate of many millions of men--most of them leaders who are the mouth of the Invisible Government--have a record in favor of the SAN FRANCISCO TREATY. The FOREIGN RELATIONS Committee recommended it. To date there is a vote against it--that of U. S. SENATOR JOHNSON of California. I'm content with him.

There are a few others in the Senate who are not content with him. They are a few who are not content with him. They are a few who are not content with him.

ity has accepted
ears FLE--

ty and justice for all

"Eternal Vigilance is the Price of Liberty"

"Give Me Liberty or Give Me Death"

American Digest

Combined with the
Established in 1939



by
DEWEY M. TAFT,
Sole Owner

AMERICA SPEAKS

WILLIAM KULLBACK, EDITOR

ATASCADERO, CALIFORNIA JULY 1944

How far you can see

Flynn's assault on Dumbarton Oaks was spread in the Northwest on Jan. 11, 1945, by the Boise Valley Herald, edited by A. and I.W. Cornell, at Middleton, Idaho, which issue is filled with bitter opposition to peace time military training.

America Speaks, edited by William Kullgren, also a sedition indictee, does its bit by Flynn, quoting him at great length, and with much frequency, advertising Flynn's 'Truth About Pearl Harbor' in its July, 1945, issue.

'The American Digest' is published monthly at Englewood, Colorado. Its editor, Dewey H. Taft, is an active aid to the extension of Gerald L. K. Smith's sector of the fascist propaganda. In October, 1945 he extolled John E. Rankin, assailed the *Friends of Democracy*; called Tyler Kent 'America's No. 1 hero; fought to free the sedition indictees Ellis O. Jones, Robert Noble and W. D. Pelley; quoted C.B. Hudson's *America in Danger*; supported Fred Kister's *Christian American Veterans*; asserted 'The Reds Rape Every Woman' - and promoted John T. Flynn's Pearl Harbor propaganda.

Union Busters Back Flynn

Another Flynn outlet is *Militant Truth*, published in Chattanooga, Tenn., financed by *Christian American* (see *Black Network chart infra.*) backing, distributed by the Ku Klux Klan and Georgia Klan-backing firms to offset the unionizing drive of the CIO. It features such writers as Sam Pettengill, Harvey Springer, W.D. Herrstrom (all ardently promoted by Elizabeth Dilling) and John T. Flynn. As C.B. Hudson quotes Flynn via Reader's Digest, so Sherman Patterson quotes Flynn 'From the Reader's Digest', which is used by Eggleston to promote prestige for the propaganda shills. Flynn's attack on social security legislation was featured in August, 1946, by *Militant Truth*.

As we have seen, another of Flynn's satellites is Charles B. Hudson's *America in Danger* which, on Aug. 14, 1945 wrote in the half-code style peculiar to so many of the Nazi propagandists: 'John T. Flynn's 'Government Corporations should be wiped out in Aug. 1945 READERS DIGEST gives part of the picture'.

This is the way in which Flynn - himself a 'respectable' writer - extended his usefulness to the fascist cause, by providing exactly the kind of material the subversive press had to have!

Fights United Nations

How Flynn fought the organization of the United Nations appears in William H. Stuart's *Heard and Seen*, a weekly letter published in Chicago, which, on July 21, 1945, declared (p.1) 'To date there is but one vote against it - that of U.S. Senator Hiram Johnson's, of California. I'm content to stand with him. There are a few others in opposition. Significant and sensational was the warning of John T. Flynn, writer. He declares that back of the S.F. Charter come stupendous economic plans contemplating spending \$30,000,000,000 more in post war spending abroad.'

We have no desire to distort Mr. Flynn's position. It is true that he can produce a letter telling the *Deutscher Weckruf und Beobachter* that he wanted them to stop asking their readers to join the America First Committee. But the explanation is furnished, perhaps naively, by the *Weckruf's* comment on Flynn's 'repudiation'. It said, under a reproduction of Flynn's letter:

'Because it is not the fault of the America First Committee that a false, slanderous un-American stigma has been put on the Bund, we have no desire to see the America First Committee suffer from the undeserved reflection cast on the Bund by the chosen minority, who denounce the America First Committee as a pro-Nazi agency, with the same degree of injustice that the Bund had to endure in the past'.

We have said a good deal about Mr. Flynn's political relationship to the Nazi Propaganda. And we have mentioned Mr. Eggleston, of *Reader's Digest*, which is a Flynn propaganda promoter, as a Japanese agent. No discussion of Mr. Flynn's fascist support would be complete without the painful necessity of recalling that, on the morning of Dec. 8, 1941, thousands of recipients of Mr. Flynn's 'reports', who had listened with righteous anger to the description of the attack on Pearl Harbor over their radios all day and night on Dec. 7, were astonished to find that, under date of Dec. 6, Mr. Flynn - Eggleston's literary idol - had announced that war with Japan could not happen - that Japan didn't want any war - and wasn't going to have any! This was precisely what the Ambassadors were saying at that moment to Secretary of State Cordell Hull! Mr. Hull had a few things to say to them, you will remember. What he said to them is certainly applicable to John T. Flynn!

Racist Counterpoint

We have shown how Flynn assiduously followed the Nazi propaganda theme (1) Hate Roosevelt (2) develop strong isolationist movements (3) assail preparedness programs; and his amateurish analysis of Chicago's political national divisions is only one of hundreds of examples of his adherence to the mandate to 'promote dissension among minorities'. The racism which Flynn indulges in is extremely subtle. His technique is to mention Jews unfavorably whenever possible without calling attention to the fact that they are Jews. This is not an exhaustive analysis such as could be made from a careful examination of Flynn's writings. But his constant intimate association in professional propaganda with almost every professional anti-Semite in America seems also to establish his adherence to the mandate 'hate the Jews!'. We do not here say that Flynn is actively engaged in the promotion of fascist social groups. We do not even say that Upton Close is engaged in establishing Klaverns for the Klan. But Upton Close is one of the founders and promoters of *American Action, Inc.* with which the South Carolina group of *The Columbians* was reported by the Associated Press to have sought affiliation. There is certainly more to this pattern than any mere 'spatial adjacency'. There is a deeper relationship than mere accident of circumstance. There is agreement in principle - the principle of fascism.

Fascist Fugue

When you call a man a Nazi party helper it is necessary to give some evidence that he is one. In the case of John T. Flynn the facts speak for themselves. And, when you call a man a Fascist there ought to be some evidence that you are not indulging in 'smear' - that you are convinced that he is a fascist - and reasons for such belief ought to be given.

Fascism fights for the retention of special economic privilege, against any strong development of power to curtail such privilege. Fascism makes use of no new political techniques. It uses the whole gamut of 'organizational' consolidation of power, just as the Nazis, or the Republicans, or the New Deal, or any other group does. It is the objectives of the organization that make it identifiable as fascism. It warns minorities - as does Flynn in the last paragraph of his *SMEAR TERROR* that they had better in their own interest line up with parties and people recommended by him. It warns minorities that only in receiving the benign protection of itself are their interests safe. It organizes women with appeals to 'motherhood' - the 'democrats' with warning that all liberal movements 'threaten their liberties' - and 'conservatives' with the promise of 'no further curtailment of their privilege'. It does this for the sole

purpose of achieving, through political action, power to set up machinery which puts the State, as a corporate entity, above and beyond control by the people. In order to break down the democratic controls, and pave the way for this change one finds Mr. Flynn advocating, with specious cleverness, the argument quoted in Charles (Poison Cup) B. Hudson's periodical - 'Government Corporations must go!' What neither Mr. Flynn nor Mr. Hudson add, however, is that the economic control must be left in the hands of the few whose whole objective is personal gain. The most notable political manifestation of this ideal, promoted by Mr. Flynn as an economist, is that which was organized by his political partner Mr. Close, with the help of their Mutual friend - Merwin K. Hart.

American Action, Inc.

American Action, Inc. has a great deal of money. It numbers among its leaders both Republicans and Democrats. Its chief organizers and promoters have had the public endorsement of Hitler, Franco, Mussolini and the Latin American naziphiles. It is true that the officers - some of them - were called before a House Committee then headed by Mr. Priest - but the 'probe' was like that of Gerald L.K. Smith by Mr. Rankin. The members of American Action murmured 'There must be some mistake!' - and there was! The mistake was that there was no investigation!

One of these advocates of American Action was Lee 'Pappy' O'Daniel, who worked with Vance Muse in forming the American National Democratic Committee - which was the bitter foe of the National Democratic Committee. Follow Vance around awhile and you'll find yourself in the ante-room of the Christian Americans, among whose backers was the late John H. Kirby, some of whose millions backed not only the Christian Americans, but also the White Shirt Crusaders, where his dollars clinked merrily beside those of Alfred P. Sloan, John N. Pew, Lamott DuPont, and Ernest Weir - to name a few. We name these few because their names appear also as the financial backers of America First - of which Mr. Flynn was a leading light, and also of American Action, Inc. Mr. Close's political baby. Among these Crusaders was George W. Christians, who made a threat to cut off Chattanooga's power and light on the occasion of a scheduled speech by FDR with the remark quoted by John Roy Carlson (*Under Cover* 149) 'Lots of things can happen in the dark!'

Called Themselves "Fascists"

Christians worked with George Deathergge, whose personal representative at Erfurt was Ernest Elmhurst. He openly called his 'Crusaders' - remember their backers! - 'American Fascists'. This is Merwin K. Hart's organization - and some idea of its views can be had from the fact that it's radio spokesman, Upton Close, called the Most Rev. Bernard Sheil, of Chicago, 'a Communist'! The Bishop, who, back in 1924 was a darn good reporter himself, was given part of Close's next broadcast, which he devoted to taking Mr. Close apart. Mutual last October ordered Close to quit advertising his hate-sheet 'Closer-Ups' on the air. Close regretted the Nuremberg trials - not merely the hangings; he defended the anti-Semitism of May Quinn, racist school-teacher tried and whitewashed by the New York School Board, and if one had time to sift thoroughly his broadcasts and publications, one could without effort, multiply this sort of report many times over.

The known Nazi propaganda activities of Charles E. Coughlin, of Detroit, who, among his other accomplishments is, like Mr. Flynn, an economist with a large following, are too familiar to require recitation. The Department of Justice has more than once said it has evidence of this - in the sedition cases as prepared by William Power Maloney - and by O. John Rogge.

Closely associated with Coughlin is a man named Robert Harriss. Now lest Mr. Flynn be tempted to say we are 'linking' the two just because Harriss happened to be Coughlin's silver broker, let us hasten to point out that it is because of their political collaboration, and not because of their acquaintanceship that the matter is significant.

It was Coughlin's job to stir up a fascist group which was more susceptible to anti-Semitism than the Ku Klux Klan, whose special emphasis was anti-Negroism. So Coughlin issued the clarion call for the famous 'platoons' which later blossomed out into the Christian Front. With these activities Harriss was, if not involved, at least sympathetically familiar.

He gave indirect help to the planners of American pogroms - Allen Zoll and Joe McWilliams. There is nothing to show that he was a 'member' of such disreputable groups. But he knew their use.

Harriss does appear as a member of a rather sketchy little organization, with headquarters at 205 E. 42nd St., New York City, where Lawrence Dennis, the author of *The Coming American Fascism* had his office; where Frank Gannett and Arthur Davies ran their *Committee to Uphold the Constitution*; where Sam Pettengill ran *America's Future* - or thought he did; and where, (in conjunction with Edward A. Rumeley, German agent in America in World War I) Harriss, Gannett, and Sam Pettengill finally pooled their efforts in *The Committee for Constitutional Government*. Pettengill was tied in with the Christian Americans.

Harriss next appeared as a member of the *America First Committee* for which John T. Flynn was the New York Chairman - and now he emerges, with Ernest Weir and Joseph Pew, as a backer of Upton Close's *American Action, Inc.*

Is 'All Danger Past'?

What about that 'lullaby' Flynn so ardently sings on p.8 of his pamphlet - 'The Bund has vanished. Fritz Kuhn has been deported. Pelley and Viereck are in jail! Flynn says the 'private gestapos' - by which he means anybody who fights back at the shameless 'smears' produced and circulated by Flynn, Close, Hart and their kind, 'must find something like the Ku Klux Klan to justify their existence.' In *American Action, Inc.* it looks as though they may, indeed, have found it!

How can all such terrors 'no longer be invoked' while the men who back them are still producing propaganda? Has Flynn not followed the Nazi propaganda line - and associated with men whose business it was to conduct it? He was wrong at every turn - that is true - but that does not vitiate the harm his activities do to democratic progress. This is no defense of the smearing done on the other side of the political fence. We have attacked smears on the G.O.P. We attack particularly Flynn's smears on the Democratic Party. We are not of the opinion that a man who was wrong about Pearl Harbor when it happened, can be so right about it now. We do not believe a man who could be so wrong about Fascism for so many years - is suddenly right about it now. We do not believe a man who has made such a business of slurring minority groups is safely to be entrusted with the leadership of their cause; we do not believe that a man so wrong - so devastatingly wrong about the war - can be right about the peace. John T. Flynn's isolationism is a dangerous doctrine in the age of atom bombs, supersonic planes

and robot projectiles. His antagonism to world co-operation is no small factor in stimulating isolationist sentiment in a period of human history when such a stand is, in itself, the cause of international suspicion. His battle is against the right - but, even granting him, as one must, the right to engage in it - one must deplore the hatred which animates it and expose the kind of fellowship it engenders. There is no room for Fascism in a democratic world. Not all the fighters on either side are fair. Certainly all are, of necessity, partial. But it is the truth which makes men free, not vilification, vituperation and mere rage at being caught with one's fingers in the jam.

Flynn's attitudes have never helped the cause of the people. They have always helped the cause of Fascism. The private organizations which fight to expose certain of his friends do well to produce the evidence. If, sometimes, they err, the percentage is no higher than in the execution of justice. When Flynn errs, as in *The Smear Terror* he often does, it is not on the side of fair play.

As between the literature of which he complains, and the lewdness, mendacity, irresponsibility, and the inflammatory character of the press - big and little - which provides the channel for his utterances, give us *I Find Treason*, *The Anti-Nazi Bulletin*, *Democracy's Battle*, *It's A Secret*, *Under Cover* and *The Plotters* every time!

The Ku Klux Klan (many of whose unhooded leaders - men to whom the mummery is ridiculous and the night riding abhorrent - who ardently believe in the awful doctrine of white supremacy) seems to be preferred by Flynn to groups which fight for the rights of man. It is men of the Klan's type - the backers of such groups - who finance *American Action, Inc.* and its kind. These are the days when the thing he says is 'dead' is raising its head no less in Buenos Aires than in Moscow. Why is Mr. Flynn so exclusively concerned with the peril from Moscow?

Mr. Flynn fought the Democratic Party tooth and nail. It won. He fought to keep free men from fighting the enemy of freedom. Free men, despite him, have won a partial victory. He fought to preserve the Japanese from attack by us. The Japanese attacked us. He fought to keep us from being part of the world. Should he succeed this time we may indeed be no part of it whatever! Wrong at every spin of the clock before, he shows, by his adherence still to fascist hopes that he is still the enemy's mouthpiece. We must, indeed, beware *The Smear Terror* of John T. Flynn!

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